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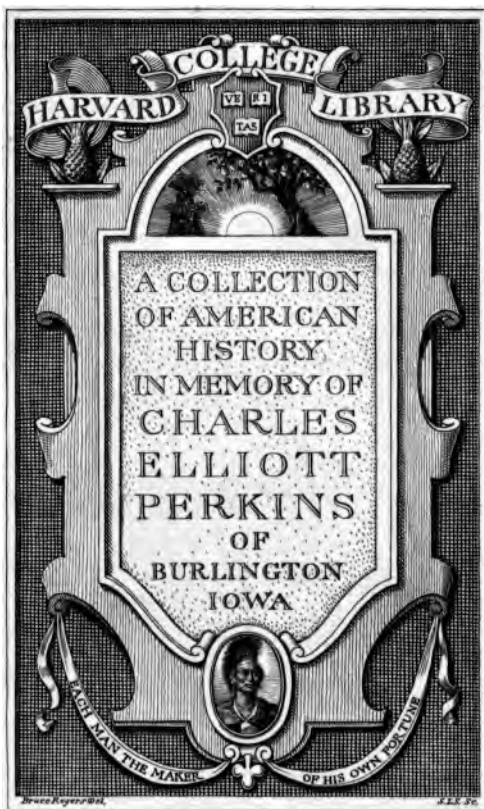
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**ARBITRARY ARRESTS IN ILLINOIS.**

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**LETTER**

**OF**

**JUDGE A. D. DUFF,**

**OF FRANKLIN COUNTY,**

**TO THE**

**PUBLIC OF SOUTH ILLINOIS,**

**RELATIVE TO HIS**

**ARREST AND IMPRISONMENT**

**BY THE**

**ABOLITION DESPOTISM**

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**SPRINGFIELD:**  
**STATE REGISTER STEAM PRINT.**  
**1863.**

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## LETTER OF JUDGE DUFF.

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BENTON, ILLINOIS, December 15th, 1862.

*To the Free and Honest Men of Southern Illinois:*

FELLOW CITIZENS: From several considerations, I am induced to submit these remarks to you through the press:

You are fully advised that in the month of August last, while in an adjoining county, and while in the legal and solemn discharge of my official duties as one of the judicial officers of the State, without writ or process of any kind, and without any complaint charging me with the commission of any offence, I was arbitrarily arrested, my court broken up in the midst of important business, the State's Attorney likewise seized and dragged from his home and official duties, leaving all his indictments for the term unfinished, the foreman of the grand jury arrested and torn away from the unfinished grave of his departed child, and not even allowed to pass by his home, to give a parting word of advice to the disconsolate wife and heart-broken mother, in this afflicting hour of bereavement and death.

And the only authority assigned for the exercise of this imperial, despotic power, was simply the volition or mere suggestion of one of those unprincipled pimps, who, like flocks of hungry vultures, congregating around a fallen carcass, are now, under the name of "Marshal," "Provost Marshal," "Deputy Marshal," "Chiefs of Police," "Detectives," &c., &c., swarming around the sick chamber of our languishing country, for the sole purpose of stealing and plundering from a treasury already depleted by robbery and theft.

You are also, no doubt, aware of the fact, that, in open violation of the constitutional rights of each citizen of this State, and in utter disregard of a plain provision of the Constitution of the United States, I (with many others of your fellow-citizens whose arrests were illegal,) was by force taken out and beyond the limits of this State, and across several of the States and judicial districts of the United States, to Washington city, upwards of a thousand miles from home, and there detained as a prisoner for several months, until the result of the elections in New York and Illinois were known, when I, together with all the other political prisoners, detained in the same prison, were immediately, by the order of the Secretary of War, honorably discharged from prison, without any trial or examination whatever.

And having, since my return home, received many warm solicitations from my friends, to address them at so many places upon the subject of this illegal arrest and open act of tyranny, but the points designated being remote from each other, and many of them inaccessible by railway, together with the general feebleness of my health, and the usual inclemency of the weather at this season of the year, these considerations compel me to decline these numerous and kind invitations; but I have availed myself of this method of saying something to my friends, as well as to an expectant public, upon the subject. All I now propose doing is to briefly notice the *pretended* cause of my arrest, present you the true and real cause, and then point out the real object and design of that system of arbitrary and illegal arrests which we witnessed throughout the Northern States, but more especially in Illinois, for several months immediately preceding the last November elections.

The original pretext assigned for my arrest has never been given to the public. It is known to but few persons, except the parties who made the arrest, myself, and a few personal friends who were arrested with me, and, as I suppose, the abolition managers who were behind the curtain, pulling the wires at the time. That my arrest had been determined upon by the Great Sanhedrim, or rather conclave of public plunderers at Springfield, as early as June last, I have the confession of one of their hireling lick-spittles, whose word, I am free to confess, no honest man would ever confide in, when there was any motive or inducement for lying; but as this admission was made against his masters, I am warranted in giving it some credit. I allude to the admission of the villain Beard, to Captain Corder and others, in relation to the cause of my arrest—but of this I shall speak presently.



On Monday, the 21st day of July last, I addressed a Democratic mass meeting at Frankfort, in this county. I urged upon the Democracy, in my humble way, the absolute necessity of organizing and defeating the abolitionists at the ensuing November election; and in doing this I presented the way-marks, and examined some of the foot-prints made by the abolition party upon our country and government, during the short time they have had control of the same. This gave serious offense, as I intended it should, to certain "Union shriekers," whose Union is the negro, and whose patriotism and love of country are usually manifested by stealing from her treasury.

Several days, immediately after this meeting, were spent by a few of this class in going back and forth to Duquoin, telegraphing lies to Cairo and Springfield, concerning my remarks, until it was thought by the great omnipotent at Springfield that the opportunity for some time looked for had now, in the fulness of time, duly arrived. Accordingly, two detectives at Cairo were telegraphed to proceed to Williamson and Franklin counties, to traverse the counties for several days, "smelling up" all the foul, low and slanderous lies found circulating in the meanest circle of abolition society, against democrats, and then to proceed and arrest me, with all others whom such lies might not represent as "sound on the goose;" which instructions the detectives in some measure carried out.

The next day after I was arrested, and while on my way to Cairo—being Friday, the 15th day of August—these government detectives—or one of them, Mr. Scott—in the presence of Hon. W. J. Allen, Judge Mulkey, and others, informed me that the only charge against me was in relation to my speech at Frankfort. I then asked him if he knew what I was charged with saying there, that was considered disloyal. In reply, he said, I was charged with exposing the frauds upon the government, and that it was thought such exposures tended to discourage enlistments. I then told him I was ready to plead guilty to the charge so far as exposing the frauds and stealings of the abolitionists were concerned, and that I regarded it as the proudest day of my life to be arrested for pleading for even-handed justice, and common honesty, in the use and management of the people's money, and for publicly denouncing the thieves and villains who were robbing a tax-ridden people.

I was further informed by these officers, at that time, that they had not then taken any proofs against me, but had a statement as to what would be proven, with the names of the witnesses, &c., and that they were going back, as soon as we arrived at Cairo, to take the evidence, which one of them did on the next day, or Monday following. And although there were four or five hundred democrats present at Frankfort who heard me speak, and about fifteen abolitionists, yet every affidavit taken by these officers as to what I said was sworn to and subscribed by a regular negro worshipper, except one, (Clement Evans). But as it had, no doubt, been arranged as a part of the plan that the pretended evidence, (being lies or forgeries) upon which the arrests were said to have been made, should be handed over to the abolition press for publication and comment, and that, too, as a matter of course, before any trial of the parties or examination of the evidence by the officers, (if any there were) whose duty it was to pass upon the same. Although this was a part of the plan, yet these affidavits, five in number, corrupted as several of them were with wilful falsehoods, when submitted to the grand council of conspirators, were thought to contain a little too much plain truth to go to the country under any circumstances, and especially as the grounds of my arrest. There were too many charges and allegations therein against the abolitionists, the force and truth of which were daily being realized by the people; hence these affidavits, obtained at hundreds of dollars expense to the government, and in support of the only pretended charge upon which I had been arrested, are heard of no more after they are filed in the office of the provost marshal at Cairo.

Well, these witnesses each swore, among other things, that I said at Frankfort, "that the salvation of our country depended upon the success of the democracy." *I said that, and say it again.* They further swore that I said, "unless the democracy obtained control of the government it would be converted into an abolition despotism." *I said that, and say it again.* They further swore that I said "the history of the world did not afford an example of a free government passing so rapidly towards despotism as our own had done for the last eighteen months." *I said that, and challenge a world's history for contradiction.* They swore that I said on that occasion that the abolitionists, their pets and pimps, during the eighteen months they had been in power, had taken more money from the government than the revolutionary war cost our ancestors. *I said it, and say it again.* They swore that I said "honest men had been arrested and imprisoned under this administration, because they would not steal from the government." *I said that, too, and say it again,* and for the proof thereof I refer to the case of Messrs. Pond and Clapp, of St. Louis. See Jo Holt's committee report, page —.

They further swore that I said that "I did not believe the abolitionists wanted this war to end upon any terms whatever, while a dollar could be ground out of the people by taxation, for them to steal or bestow upon the negroes." I don't remember saying this at that time, but as it is my honest opinion, I shall not deny saying it. They, or three of them,

further swore that I said *all* the officers of the government were a set of scoundrels, seeking the destruction of the Union and constitution." This is false, and wilfully so. My remarks had reference to the civil departments of the government only, and I expressly excepted from said charge every democrat then in office, and certain republicans, among whom I named, at the time, Senator Browning, of Illinois, Cowan, of Pennsylvania, Collamer, of Vermont, and Dawes and Thomas, of Massachusetts.

One other word in regard to those Frankfort witnesses and I am done with them and their affidavits, and that is this: Notwithstanding it had been but a few days from the time of that meeting until their affidavits were taken, and though the proceedings of the meeting were published at length in our county paper, which was to be found upon the desk of almost every man in the county, yet three of these witnesses, in open contradiction to what they knew to be the truth, and in contradiction of the published proceedings, come up and swore that the meeting was held upon the 28th of July, instead of the 21st. This might at first view appear like an insignificant variance, but when we remember that the charge they were then trying to establish against me was discouraging enlistments, in violation of the then recent order of the secretary of war, and further remember that the precise date of that order was then unknown to us all—even the detectives did not know the precise date—but all understood that it was issued the last week in July, and as a matter of course if my speech was made before the order was issued, I could in no event have violated it before its promulgation. So we can readily see the object of those witnesses in thus wilfully departing from the truth, and fixing the date of this meeting a week or ten days later than it really was.

I now turn these gentlemen, or such of them as committed perjury in the above particulars, over to the laws made and provided against such crimes, through which, I doubt not, they will be made to atone for their guilt, unless the present abolition congress shall pass an act, which I imagine they will do, forever prohibiting from punishment all perjured scoundrels who have been guilty, or may hereafter be guilty, of swearing lies against democrats for political purposes. I think the exigencies of their party, and the situation of a large number of the individual members thereof, stand in need of such law.

And now, before passing to the next division of the subject under consideration, I desire to refer to a matter not directly connected with my subject, but which, through abolition lies and insinuations, has been made indirectly to connect itself therewith. I allude to the foul and inhuman murder of the lamented Owen, who was brutally murdered in his own door, near Frankfort, on the 22d of July, being the day following that of the mass meeting; and the reason I feel compelled to mention this painful occurrence in this connection is, that shortly after the death of Mr. Owen the abolitionists at Frankfort, and throughout this country, ever true to the natural instincts of the brotherhood everywhere for lying, and on this occasion partly, perhaps, for the purpose of covering up the guilt of the real perpetrator of this dark and damning deed, sought, and especially at a distance, where the facts were not known, to give this bloody tragedy a political complexion. And I suppose it was through information received from one of these lying emissaries, detailed for that purpose, that a certain newspaper published in Carbondale, Illinois, a few days after the occurrence, in an editorial noticing the homicide, laid great stress upon the fact that it was committed the next day after a meeting at Frankfort, at which I had made a speech, calling it a "peace meeting," and in the same connection stated that Mr. Owen was "a strong Union man," and that "much excitement prevailed in consequence of this meeting."

Now we all know, and the world knows, what is meant, in abolition parlance, by the term "Union man," or "strong Union man." I believe that with them the first expresses a republican, and the latter an abolitionist. According to the abolition notion of things no democrat is a Union man. So all who understand abolition cant at once know who they mean when they talk about "Union men." The import of what appeared in this paper can be easily interpreted. Although this paper claims the name of democracy, yet every democrat knows its true character, as do all the abolitionists. All understand that it simply claims the name of democracy in order that the other abolition sheets may quote its effusions as democratic authority against us, thinking in this way it may be able to do us more harm, and the abolitionists more service, than if it sailed under its own true colors.

Then the true design of what appeared in that paper upon this subject, was to create the impression abroad that Mr. Owen was an abolitionist, or, at least, a republican, (a distinction without a difference) and, therefore, as a matter of course, opposed this "peace meeting," and the principles and sentiments thereof, and the innuendo was that in consequence of his "Union" sentiments, and opposition to this "peace meeting," he might probably have come to his untimely death. Now, in the first place, this was a democratic mass meeting, and not a "peace meeting." No one ever called it a "peace meeting," but an abolition liar or hireling. If it was a "peace meeting" then Mr. Owen was a "peace" man. If Mr. Owen was a "strong Union man," then this was a "strong Union" meeting, (not,

however, in the abolition sense). Mr. Owen was present at the organization of the meeting, was unanimously chosen secretary of the meeting, was present all day, an attentive and active member. He cheerfully endorsed every word that was said on that occasion by Judge Neal or myself, cordially approved and supported by his votes every resolution adopted by the meeting, and if there was much excitement in consequence of the meeting, I suppose it was with the cowardly abolitionists only, after the democrats had all gone home; and I must admit that some of them must have been pretty highly excited, for at the end of ten or fifteen days afterwards, they had not cooled down sufficient to deter them from swearing half a dozen lies against me.

But when the fact is known as it really exists, that Mr. Owen, though he had been a resident of our county for some three years, had never before this meeting participated in any democratic convention or meeting while he had been in our county, and though always avowing himself a democrat and opposed to the abolitionists and republicans, (which was truly so) yet they had, as a party, at the November election the year before, supported him to a man, and no doubt up to the day of this meeting they entertained strong hope of gaining him over to their party. Their chagrin and disappointment may well be imagined, when they beheld him taking an active part in this "peace meeting," gotten up for the purpose of organizing the democracy, and especially when they discovered that he was not only in the meeting, but secretary of the meeting, and saw him indorsing and approving all that was done and said. On Tuesday, the 22d of July, the next day after this meeting, Mr. Owen, among the last business acts of his life, came to Benton, a distance of seven miles, and delivered to the editor of our county paper, for publication, in obedience to one of the resolutions passed by the meeting, a full copy of the proceedings and resolutions, which were made out in his own hand-writing, and subscribed by him as secretary; which proceedings and resolutions were published in the *Benton Standard* of 2d August, 1862, a copy of which I here insert:

**DEMOCRATIC MEETING.**—The democracy of Franklin county assembled in mass meeting, at the town of Frankfort, in said county, on the 21st day of July, A. D. 1862.

When, on motion, Isham Taylor was appointed president, John McFalls and Mathew Ing were appointed vice presidents, and M. R. Owen was elected secretary. On motion of Mr. Emsly Moore, a committee of five were appointed by the president to draft resolutions expressive of the sense of this meeting. The chairman appointed the following named persons for said committee, viz: W. C. Allen, W. H. Whittington, Walden Manning, Wm. Otterson, and Emsly Moore.

The committee retired, and during their absence the meeting was addressed in a very able manner by Judge Moses Neal, and Hon. A. D. Duff, the latter making a complete exposure of the frauds and swindling operations of the present administration. At the close of Judge Duff's remarks, the committee returned, and reported the following preamble and resolutions, which were unanimously adopted by the meeting.

**WHEREAS**, we, the democracy of Frankfort precinct and vicinity, believing that the democratic party is the only true Union party now in this government, and the only party that is calculated to restore the Union and harmony of the people of these United States, that so recently existed when the democratic party had the control of the government, therefore,

**Resolved**, That we cordially endorse the late speech of the Hon. Wm. A. Richardson, made in the house of representatives in congress, and approve of the wise and honorable course he has taken, and think it the only course that will restore the union of the people of the United States.

**Resolved**, That we repudiate all sectional doctrines, either of the abolitionists of the north or secessionists of the south, which are calculated to lead to the most alarming consequences, and have been the cause of our present difficulties, and ought not to be countenanced by any of the friends of our political institutions; that we desire the constitution as it is, and the Union as it was.

**Resolved**, That we oppose all measures by congress, or our representatives therein, that go to the confiscation of private property or the emancipation of the slaves.

**Resolved**, That we deem it necessary for the democracy of the United States to stand as a unit, both in national and private affairs, and disseminate the principles of the old Jeffersonian democracy.

**Resolved**, That we believe the democracy, and all other conservative men of our country, should organize themselves into societies for the purpose of a permanent organization of the party.

**Resolved**, That we cordially endorse the late policy adopted by Gen. John A. Logan in his brigade, as to the disposal of negroes coming into his lines.

On motion it was agreed that these resolutions be published in the *Benton Standard*.

On motion the meeting adjourned.

ISHAM TAYLOR, President.

M. R. OWEN, Secretary.

After Mr. Owen delivered these papers to our editor, on the day mentioned, he got upon his horse and rode home, which he reached about 3 o'clock, got down from his horse, and while in the act of entering his door, was wantonly and cruelly murdered by an assassin, shooting him from an adjoining thicket. These are the naked and undisputable facts, so far as this dreadful crime had connection, either in plan or time, to this mass meeting, as well as their political relation, if any existed. For the vindication of myself, the lamented dead, and the democracy of that locality, I have deemed it prudent to make these statements, and here leave the subject without comment, feeling assured that an observing and candid public will form its own impartial judgment as to where the guilt lies, if politics had any connection with that dark and bloody crime.

I now return from this digression to the second part of the programme of my arrest. As already stated, the evidence taken as to what I said at Frankfort, tainted to some extent with falsehood, was not to go before the country as the grounds of my arrest; there-

fore something more had to be done; some scoundrel must now be found who will swear a lie out of whole cloth. In order to do this some one must be found who has no permanent residence in the country, and whose situation and occupation affords him some protection against indictment and punishment for perjury. This character was soon found in the person of a vile wretch calling his name George Meyers, and styling himself 5th sergeant in Capt. Creed's company, Illinois three months volunteers, then stationed at Muddy Bridge, eight miles north from Cairo. How natural it was, if there was any man in that company so base as to be bribed to swear a lie against me, that he should be quickly produced, when it is known that the captain of that company was then and now is a resident of my county, and that I, more than once, publicly, and to his own face, denounced him as a liar and a coward.

Well, in this villain Meyers they found the man they needed, so he was conducted to Carbondale, a distance of seven miles from the point where stationed, in the night time, and his affidavit taken before a justice of the peace, who, I presume, was an honest man. But in order to expedite business, as was alleged, (but no doubt in pursuance of a plan already arranged, but unknown to the justice of the peace,) one Dick Dudding was called upon to act as amanuensis. This fellow is a regular negro worshipper, who, at the expense of a few unsuspecting clients, has learned just law enough, when taken in connection with his other qualities, to enable him to play the sneaking pettifogger before a country justice of the peace. So, now it becomes the business, and was a part of the plan, for this abolition pettifogger to prepare a story for this thief Meyers to swear to; every word of which they both knew was as base and black a lie as the depraved hearts from which it emanated. And although every word is a lie, yet the affidavit must be so cautiously framed that how ever apparent the lie may be to the public, the perjured scoundrel cannot technically be convicted of perjury thereon. How far he succeeded in his sneaking and infamous work, will be seen by reference to the affidavit which he prepared, a copy of which I here insert:

"George Myers, sergeant of Capt. Creed's company, stationed at Big Muddy Bridge, in Jackson county, Ill., aged 23 years, being duly sworn, deposes and says:

"I am a member of Knights of the Golden Circle, and have visited two meetings of that order in Williamson county. The first was on the night of the 10th of July, at the school house, about six or seven miles from Marion, at which I was initiated by a person who was termed the 'Worthy Chief.' A man named William Andrews went with me; on which occasion they took a book and read to me the laws, which were, as near as I can recollect: 'We are not to take up arms either for or against the United States, but we will bear true allegiance to those who may be members of the Golden Circle, and that we shall not take up arms against them, but be one, under a solid body.' This I was sworn to under penalty of death. I was not to allow it to be known that I belonged to the order, except to those who I knew were members. I was then shown the sign and pass-words.

"The second meeting was held about three miles from Blairsville, in Williamson county. Judge Duff was there, and seven or eight other speakers. Judge D. addressed the members, and said that regiment No. — (giving the number, which I do not recollect) was to keep still for a few days, and they would have a great deal to do at home; that they would have to carry out what a third party had laid out to be done against Union men, as soon as the volunteers should have left. Several others addressed the meeting. From the conversation I understood the members were expecting arms from Missouri.— There were 300 persons present.

("Signed,)

his  
GEORGE M. MYERS,  
mark.

Here is an affidavit by a man I never heard of in my life until his affidavit was read to me in the provost's office in Cairo. A man who never saw me in his life swearing that I was present at a meeting of the Knights of the Golden Circle, near Blairsville, in Williamson county, Illinois, and made a speech there. He even pretends to give my language on the occasion. But no date is given to this meeting, nor is any other name given but my own, although it is stated that seven or eight speakers and three hundred persons were present. Well, we all know, and Dick Dudding knew, that it requires two witnesses to convict of perjury. Now can any man look at this affidavit without at once seeing a studied and careful design throughout to evade any statement that could by possibility be contradicted by any other evidence than my own? Why not, as a truthful witness would naturally do, give the precise place, the date, and name the speakers present? Such important points would naturally occur to the mind of a truthful witness, and be given in his narrative. Even a dishonest witness, in fabricating a false story to tell or swear, would be likely to state, in order to give his story the appearance of truth, some surrounding facts, unless, as in this case, an unprincipled scoundrel, having some little knowledge of the law, had been employed to frame and fabricate his lie for him, in such form as to shield him against conviction for the perjury he was committing.

I will here state that this, as well as all the numerous affidavits taken against the parties arrested, were taken in our absence, though we requested the privilege of being present, by ourselves or counsel, to cross-examine; but this was refused us by the authorities at Cairo.

The ninth section of the bill of rights, of the constitution of this state, reads as follows : *"In all criminal prosecutions the accused hath a right to be heard by himself or counsel, to demand the nature and cause of the accusation against him, TO MEET THE WITNESSES FACE TO FACE."*

In the sixth amendment to the constitution of the United States, is the following provision : *"In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right \* \* \* to be confronted with the witness against him."* The foregoing affidavit is a commentary upon the danger to the citizen in thus setting aside or annulling those great safeguards of the people, fixed by the wisdom of our ancestors in the organic law. If I had been permitted in this instance to enjoy the constitutional rights above mentioned, and had cross-examined this perjured culprit by the most ordinary tests of truth, this infamous perjury would have been exposed. Nay, if it had been understood that I was to enjoy my constitutional right of confronting this witness face to face, he never could have been induced to swear a lie at all, and there would have been no such affidavit ever made by him. While quoting from the constitution, I will give you another section of the bill of rights in the constitution of Illinois. It reads as follows : *"THAT NO PERSON SHALL BE LIABLE TO BE TRANSPORTED OUT OF THIS STATE FOR ANY OFFENSE COMMITTED WITHIN THE SAME."* I leave this without comment.

I must proceed with this perjured fiend Meyers and his affidavit. When this was first read to me in the provost marshal's office, I called that officer's attention to the manner in which it seemed to have been prepared. I then said to him, "If you place any confidence in this story, surely it is your duty then to make this witness tell who the other persons and speakers are who were present at that meeting." I said to him, "If this story is true, are you not desirous of knowing the name of every man that attended such meeting? Is not this information of vital importance to the public?" I then told him the whole story was as base and as black as hell; that there was not one single truth in it from end to end, and that by requiring this witness to make a full statement, he would prove himself a liar. I then proposed to Major Merrill, the provost marshal, in the presence of Hon. W. J. Allen, Dr. Clementon, F. M. Youngblood, Dr. Bundy, Alexander Nelson, and, perhaps, Judge Mulkey, to send up an officer and take this fellow's affidavit again, and require him to state all the material and surrounding facts; that if he would do so, I would pay all the costs and expenses of the same. But this proposition was declined, though we remained at Cairo some two or three weeks afterwards, and the trip to Muddy Bridge and back, where this villain was to be found, would have taken but eight or ten hours. I could not then, neither can I now, see any reason for declining this proposition, unless it was that, by complying, this base and foul perjury would be at once exposed, and thereby certain ends and purposes be frustrated and defeated. One of the government detectives, a Mr. Woodruff, informed Major Merrill that he knew Meyers in the 2d Illinois Cavalry; that he was then known by another name, and was universally regarded as a liar, blackleg and scoundrel. I will here make a proposition, and stand always ready to comply with the same, that if George Meyers or any other person can find an honorable man, with a character for truth and veracity, and who is a permanent citizen of this, or any of the adjoining counties, who will state upon oath that he saw me at such a meeting as Meyers mentioned, or that he ever saw me at any political meeting in Williamson county, either public or private, except in Morrison, or that he has seen me for the last four years nearer Blairsville than the Six-Mile Prairie, in Franklin county, I will pay such person the sum of five hundred dollars, whenever he produces such man. I will also pay any person the sum of fifty dollars who will inform me of the whereabouts of the said Meyers, either in Jackson or one of the adjoining counties, in time sufficient to enable me to procure a writ and have him arrested for his perjury.

It was about the time this affidavit was filed that the provost marshal informed us that if there was no evidence against us other than that which was then in his office, he should at once dispose of our cases in some way, but that he had received a telegram from his excellency, Governor Richard Yates, directing him to hold on; that "he (Yates) would be able in a few days to send him ten times more evidence, and of a much more positive character." It appeared from this that the governor was well posted, both as to the quantity and quality of the evidence then in the marshal's office against us. Well, this looked like *"piling it up,"* like becoming *voluminous*. "Ten times more!" When there were then six affidavits filed against me, "ten times" this, you see, would be sixty! Well, we all knew that the governor would do something; in fact, something had to be done. The country had to be saved, and the governor had to save it; for it was manifest (to him) there was no other name given under Heaven, or among men, whereby it could be saved.

But to proceed. We all waited for the new revelations from his excellency to come forth, who, I must confess, had become somewhat conspicuous and remarkable for his recent and wonderful discoveries, not in the art of eviscerating truth or in strategic detection of crime, but in discovering the hidden things of Nature, as well as an uncommon aptness for discovering the latent military genius of all ages, *sexes* and conditions.

So, now, we waited with patience when we learned "what was up," for we knew, to say the least of it, that this was a *big thing*. The mountain was now in travail with the mouse, and pained to be delivered.

But at the time appointed the governor actually brought forth. And, oh God! when the mighty production of his herculean mental labors made its first advent before the astonished eyes of an alarmed and startled world, the earth shook to its deepest foundations! the heavens were gently bowed! the sun was clothed in darkness! the moon was turned to blood! and all nations and tribes of the earth fell upon their faces and did mourn: and even his excellency, the governor—blushed.

It was on the morning of the 28th day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, "in the fear of God and the people of the State of Illinois," appeared (a great wonder, but not in Heaven) in the lying columns of that vile and traitorous sheet, which, like the ever low, dark and foul sewers leading off from the cesspools of hell, flows forth in perpetual streams of poisonous filth and loathsome slime—this is enough. You know I mean the *Chicago Tribune*. Well, on that day, in the form of a correspondence from Cairo, and under the flaming head of "TREASON IN ILLINOIS," appeared in the columns of this infamous sheet this wonderful revelation promised by the governor. This was the first intimation that any of us had of the contents or character of this precious document. And with it was also published what the lying correspondent said was all the evidence then in the marshal's office, omitting, or rather suppressing, the five affidavits in relation to my Frankfort speech, and no mention made of them whatever.

Having now advanced to the third and last scene in the programme, so far as relates to the evidence, I now have to deal with a document in the form of an affidavit, but the name of the party who swore to it, as well as that of the justice of the peace before whom it was made, both being, by the direction of the governor, withheld, or suppressed, at the time it was filed in the office of the marshal at Cairo, and still remains suppressed. I am, therefore, in treating of it, at some loss as to what I shall call it. I shall be compelled to use great circumlocution of language every time I mention it, unless I can adopt some brief cognomen. If the party's name was given, as a matter of course, I should call it after him. If the justice's name before whom it was made had been given, I should, in the absence of the affiant's name, call it after the justice of the peace. But both of these names being withheld, how shall I designate it? Well, inasmuch as this portion of the evidence was produced and furnished by his excellency, the governor; inasmuch as this was the wonderful volume of revelations which his superhuman labors brought forth; and inasmuch as this was the "*ten times more evidence*" that we were told we must tarry at Cairo for and wait until those having us in charge should be endowed with this power from on high, then, I think, by way of honor to the governor as well as convenience to myself, I will call this the governor's affidavit.

And now, by an inspection of this affidavit of the governor's, you will see that he was not much mistaken either as to the quality or quantity of the proof he had in store, for this document is about ten-times as long as all the other affidavits together. It also fills his measure as to positiveness, for it boldly sets forth names, dates and places, with great certainty and exactness. This affidavit of the governor's purports to have been sworn to before some unknown justice of the peace in Perry county, and seems to have been got up as a kind of St. John's Gospel to supply the defects and omissions in all those which preceded it, and especially, so far as I was concerned, to obviate my objections to the Meyer's affidavit, already mentioned.

This fellow boldly states that on Sunday, the 10th day of August, 1862, he attended a secret meeting of the Knights of the Golden Circle, at a place two miles north of Pinckneyville, in Perry county; that there were at least four hundred of the Knights of the Golden Circle present, and that myself, Francis M. Youngblood, H. W. Newland, Joseph Crouch and James S. Moore, of Franklin county, were present; David Neal, David Williams, Ezra Johnson, Dr. Blanchard, James Bennhois, Thomas Logan, (the general's brother), Benjamin Harris, Cartright Davis and Phillip Davis, of Jackson county, were present; that George W. Wall, D. M. Hoge, E. B. Rushing, Thos. Rushing, S. A. Balrd, S. M. Pyle, Dr. Ross, O. H. McCarver, Bedford Truman, W. A. Harris, Stephen Duncan, and many others, of Perry county, were present; and that all those mentioned, made speeches on the occasion. And pretends to give an abstract of what each one said, and, as a matter of course, the language used by each was *disloyal*. Thomas Logan closing the ball by openly declaring that, "as for himself, he was for Jeff. Davis and the Southern Confederacy."

This affidavit pretends to give a full exposition of the K. G. C. The object, design, obligations, passwords, &c., &c., all of which, except the password, was simply copied from a foolish and lying article which appeared more than a year ago in one of the abolition sheets of Cincinnati, and as to the password every man who understands me can see at once that this is stolen by the wholesale from that of an ancient and honorable order, known among civilized men from time immemorial, and I am pained to say that I understand that one of the poor wretches who assisted in getting up this forgery—(for such I

pronounce it,) I say that I understand that one of the parties who assisted in fabricating this wholesale lie and infamous forgery, disgraces that honorable order, by holding membership therein, who for the purpose, it seems, of perfecting this scheme of villainy, as well as to arrogate to himself among his co-workers in crime, some little credit for originality, stoops so low as to desecrate the little fragments of knowledge acquired in that order by interpolating the substance thereof into this forgery. The great length of this document forbids its insertion here, but the pith of it I have now stated. But there is one remarkable passage in it, which I must here quote *verbatim et literatim*. Speaking of the proceedings of the meeting, it says: "*A letter was produced and read to the meeting, directly from Jeff Davis and Beauregard, to Edell Jones, stating that if the K. G. C's. of Illinois could furnish two thousand men for the Confederate army, the Confederate States would be fully able to succeed in their undertaking.*" There is an astounding revelation for you. At a time when we were organizing an army of twelve hundred and fifty thousand men, and the rebellion was understood to be supported by near a million of men, Jeff Davis, and Beauregard, his general-in-chief, write a joint letter, from Richmond, to a poor obscure orphan boy of Franklin county, Illinois, hardly able to write his name, informing him that if the K. G. C's. of Illinois can furnish the confederacy two thousand men their cause is safe.

Now what say you, gentlemen? Was not this enough to have alarmed an old granny in the dark days of witchcraft superstition, much less a patent-right, patriotic, hispalutin governor, in the midst of the nineteenth century, who can (though, perhaps, aided by the magnifying powers of old King Alcohol's glasses) even remove the veil of the present, open the womb of time, and behold in the distant future "Illinois, (the freemen thereof) leaping like flaming giants into the war," upon being allowed that glorious and honorable privilege of fighting their country's battles side by side with the negroes, to wit: "free American citizens of African descent."

Now is it any wonder that the governor suppressed the name of the man who swore to such stuff as this, for if you can now find a boy ten years of age in the state of Illinois who does not pronounce this story a lie the moment he hears it, I will venture you will have no trouble in obtaining the proper certificate of lunacy to send that boy to the lunatic asylum.

Well, as I have already said, and as a reference to this document will show here, is a full, certain and positive statement of a great many tangible points, which, if false, (as every word of them are) it would be easy to prove them so, and thus convict the party of perjury. But, behold! when this document made its first appearance in the papers, we went to the provost marshal at Cairo and demanded the name of the party who swore to all this; but were informed that the governor had directed that the name be withheld. When Hon. G. W. Wall, of Du Quoin, one of the intended victims of this lying forgery, came to Cairo, immediately after this libel was published, for the express purpose of obtaining the name of the villain, his demand was met by a like response. When I again demanded of the judge advocate in Washington City the name of this scoundrel, I received the same reply—"The executive of the state of Illinois has requested the name to be withheld from the public." Now I boldly assert to all the world, and challenge contradiction, that if any person who is amenable for crime, ever swore to that story, he can be convicted in the Perry circuit court of the crime of perjury by over one thousand creditable witnesses. There are some fifty persons who he names as being present on the 10th day of August, at the K. G. C. meeting; and there is not a man mentioned who cannot show by hundreds of witnesses that it is a lie as to himself. Take, for instance, Mr. Wall, who lives in a town of some fifteen hundred inhabitants. He could prove, as he told the provost-marshal in Cairo last summer, by hundreds of witnesses that it was a base perjury; and almost all the gentlemen mentioned are residents of towns and villages, and could prove their whereabouts on that day, by numerous witnesses. Rev. O. H. McCarver, one of the party mentioned, preached to a large congregation on that day, some ten or twelve miles from Pinckneyville.

As to myself, the public judicial records of Johnson county circuit court attest that my circuit commenced at Vienna on Monday, the 4th day of August, and adjourned on Saturday, the 9th. It is also a geographical fact that Vienna is about fifty miles due south of Benton, and Pinckneyville is about thirty miles north of west from Benton, and there is no railroad communication between these points.

As my court commenced in Williamson county on Monday, the 11th, at Marion, which place is about mid-way between Benton and Vienna, and having left one of my children at home, quite ill, on the 8d, I determined when I adjourned at Vienna, on Saturday morning, to reach home that night, if possible, so as to spend the Sabbath with my family, and return to Marion on Monday morning; and about ten o'clock on Saturday morning, the 9th, I left Vienna, in company with Judge Mulkey, of Cairo, both traveling in the same buggy; he going to Marion, and I intending to drive home that night. About seven miles south of Marion our buggy broke down, I there left Judge Mulkey at the house of a gentleman named

Cash. I borrowed a saddle from Mr. Cash, took my horse out of the harness, and rode in. to Marion; which place I reached about sundown. I there left my horse, borrowed a horse and buggy from Hon. W. J. Allen, and drove home that night, reaching there about 12 o'clock. The next day, the 10th, I spent at home, and about town—saw nearly every citizen of the place, and talked to more than half of them during the day. I proved, by nineteen of the best citizens of Benton, that I was at home on the 10th, from morning till night, and could have proved the same by a hundred witnesses, but such proof did no good. The affidavits of nineteen citizens, of all political parties, showing that I was in Benton all day on Sunday, the 10th of August, was filed with the judge advocate in Washington City, shortly after my arrival there, but it availed nothing. They all knew we were innocent, therefore proof to that effect was not considered; but the ballot-boxes of New York, Illinois, and other states, unfolded a volume of evidence, that brought the tyrants to their senses.

But I must return to this affidavit of the governor's. Now, fellow-citizens, what do you suppose was the reason that the name of this perjured villian was suppressed, or withheld from the public? Does not every man see? Does not every man know, that the only reason that can be assigned, is simply this? It was well understood, and known, that if this name was permitted to go to the public, the perjured party would, at once, be apprehended, and held to answer for one of the most open, wilful and damning perjuries to be found in the whole history of crime. Or, upon the other hand, if this document was a forgery, as I have no doubt it really was, no name could have been given to the public without, at once, leading to the discovery of the imposition, and the detection of crime, of the deepest die, in some party. But, in either event, the intended effect of these infamous lies and slanders, would have been completely lost upon their intended victims, as well as upon the then approaching elections. Let us remember that some eight or ten respectable citizens, mentioned in the document, and against whose reputations no breath of calumny had ever been breathed, and against whom there was no other charge, or evidence, whatever, were arrested, ironed for several days by the dastardly and infamous villian, (Board) who made the arrests, and then sent to the old capitol at Washington, and there detained for several months, as prisoners. Among these gentlemen, I can name Dr. Wm. E. Smith, Dr. M. L. Ross, Bedford Truman, W. A. Hains, Walter S. Hawks, Rev. O. H. McCarver, of Perry county; James M. Williams, of Jefferson county; H. W. Newland, of Franklin county, and Doctor Israel Blanchard, of Jackson county; the latter of whom was triumphantly elected senator from this district, by a majority of over ten to one, within a few days after his liberation from the Washington prison. This shows alike the high character and integrity of the man, as well as the good sense and firmness of the people of the district; and in the eyes of all sensible men, is a burning rebuke to the knaves and tyrants who set on foot this damnable scheme of arresting and kidnapping honest men, for the benefit of their own dishonest and corrupt party.

Let us now look for a moment at the effect of this thing, upon the practical administration of justice: On the first Monday in this month, a circuit court was convened at Pinckneyville, in Perry county, being the first term since this perjury was committed. The grand jury is impaneled and sworn, as usual, "diligently to inquire into and true presentment make, &c.," of all crimes and misdemeanors committed within the county. Perhaps upon this grand jury are one, two, or three of the victims who have undergone months of imprisonment, in consequence of this base perjury; besides these jurors, there are at least a thousand citizens in Perry county who feel conscious that a flagrant crime has been committed in their midst. Take, for instance, the case of Rev. O. H. McCarver. They have seen him torn from his family, friends and home, ironed like a criminal, sent to Washington, there confined in a loathsome prison for months; the evidence upon which all this was done, they have seen published in a paper, in the form of an affidavit, and perporting to have been sworn to by some person in Perry county, which affidavit, among other things, states that on the 10th day of August, 1862, a secret meeting of the K. G. C's. was held two miles north of Pinckneyville, in that county—that Mr. McCarver, with some four hundred knights, were present—that he made a speech on the occasion, indulging in treasonable language, even giving his words. Now, at the time this court was organized in Perry county, and the grand jury sworn and charged, as aforesaid, there were, perhaps, fifty citizens within speaking distance of the court house in Pinckneyville, who witnessed the arrest and abduction of Mr. McCarver, who had also read the affidavit upon which he was arrested, and who had attended church and heard Mr. McCarver preach a discourse, at a distance of some ten or fifteen miles from Pinckneyville, on the very day that this party swears that he attended this meeting of K. G. C's., and so far as the universal notoriety of the falsehood is concerned, a similar illustration would hold good in the case of every one arrested. They all know that some party has committed open, wilful perjury. The first inquiry of an honest grand jury, is for this villian; the first inquiry of an outraged and injured community, is for this scoundrel. They find no trouble in establishing the false-



hood of all his statements; indeed, the perjury comes up attested by more than a thousand tongues.

But the first obstacle they meet with in their researches, after this notorious villain, is his name. They seek in vain to get at the name of this perjurer, but, at last, to the astonishment and indignation of both jury and public, it is understood that the name of the party shall not be made known to them or any one else. "What!" exclaims an insulted and disappointed public. "What!" exclaims an honest and inquiring grand jury. "Who is the person, or where is the man, who will dare conceal the name of this notorious villain? Who will dare insult the majesty of the land? Who will dare insult the moral sense of our people? Who will venture to encourage crime and conceal perjury, by thus withholding from this inquest the name of the perpetrator of the boldest and blackest crime ever committed within the county of Perry?" But, in response, they are told: "It—well—it is a 'military necessity'—it is—the order of the governor that this name be withheld." This information, as a matter of course, puts an end to the researches of the grand jury upon that subject; but do you think it satisfied an intelligent and justice-loving community? Now I appeal to you, fellow-citizens—I appeal to honest men everywhere, to reflect for a moment, and see where we are drifting. Our old notions were, that governments were instituted among men for the protection of the innocent, and correction and punishment of the guilty, but the whole order of things now appears to be changed, and under this abolition dynasty justice is sent begging into the dungeons; the innocent and upright are oppressed and imprisoned, while impudent guilt, open crime and black perjury, strut the streets, the pampered pets of executive protection.

For the purpose of showing the contemptuous light in which this infamous lie was looked upon by intelligent men of all parties, I here give you an extract from a letter written by Mr. B. G. Roots, of Tamaroa, the place where this lie was fabricated, to Mr. W. A. Harris, while a prisoner in the old capitol. For abolition authordeixy, Mr. Roots, perhaps, stands at the head of the whole abolition fraternity in Southern Illinois. This letter was also written without any solicitation, or even communication, from Mr. Harris to Mr. Roots, upon the subject. Here is what Mr. Roots says of this document:

A. C. : : :  
William A. Harris, Esq.:

TAMAROA, ILLINOIS, September 10th, 1862.

DEAR FRIEND: Believing, as I most fully do, that you are entirely innocent of any crime against the government of the United States, I earnestly wish that I could do something to aid you in getting a trial, as I fully believe that all that is wanting to procure your release is an investigation of your case. \* \* \* I believe that the only evidence against you is an affidavit first published in the Chicago Tribune. \* \* \* But I speak deliberately, and say only what I am ready to prove in any court, and before any officer who will take the testimony, that I will procure, when I say that the affidavit contains so many lies, *wifful, wicked lies*, as shows fully that the affidavit is utterly unworthy of belief, I say publicly, that if the man who swore to that affidavit knew what he swore to—that is, if he knew what statements were contained in the affidavit, he knew that he was *swearing to a lie*. Yes, to a host of lies. \* \* \*

But my own opinion I have already given, that no man ever swore to the ~~document~~ all, it is a base and black forgery, every word of it. It was got up according to order from Springfield, and prepared by two or three abolition thieves about Tamaroa. One of these scoundrels has recently left for parts unknown. He had been in the several jails of Franklin, Perry and Jackson counties for larceny. The other two remain about Tamaroa, and one of them, by the records of the Perry Circuit Court, stands convicted, in the eyes of all honest men, as well as a just God, of the crime of perjury. The third, and perhaps meanest of the three, has a record in the same court which is a stigma upon our race, and which a decent respect for the reader forbids me to mention. But how much "green back" each one of these scoundrels got for the part he played in this damnable crime, I am not able to say with certainty, though I was informed last week, when at Pinckneyville, that the wretch who has left, exhibited one hundred dollars in "Lincoln green," and admitted that he received that for his services in this villainy; but whether this sum had been recently stolen from the government, or was a part of the hundred and thirty thousand dollars which the government and private soldiers of Illinois were swindled out of, in the celebrated Martin Cassell contract, will probably never be known.

I am now done with this infamous piece of forgery, and shall now leave it, as well as its author, in the special care and protection of his excellency, to whom I think they both should belong by the right of discovery.

I will now say a few words in relation to the object of my arrest, as well as that of all others made about the same time; and as I have already intimated, as far as I was concerned, my arrest appears to have been determined upon as early as June last. I had been a member of the convention that framed the new constitution, and upon my return home from the convention, and after the abolition clique at Springfield, the railroad monopolists and shin-plaster swindlers combined, and were flooding the country with lies and frauds, in order to defeat the constitution, I felt it my duty to defend it against some of their lying

misrepresentations, and for that purpose I made two or three speeches in this section of the state, and took occasion to show, and prove from the records, that the government, or her volunteers, had lost one hundred and thirty thousand dollars in one single contract, in consequence of the quartermastership of the Illinois volunteers not being turned over to the United States assistant quartermaster, Capt. Eddy, when demanded. In doing this, it appears that I gave serious offense to the abolition clique at Springfield, who seem to understand that they have "a vested right" to plunder the public treasury, or rob the poor soldier of his wages. This information I derived through an infamous hound, dubbed "*Major Board*," who sneaked along to Washington, as we journeyed there, to the great disgust of Mr. Isaac Keys, deputy marshal, (who I regard as a gentleman,) and all other honorable men. This poor, infamous puppy, by way of boasting, informed Capt. Corder and others that my arrest, at the first convenient opportunity, had been settled upon at Springfield, as early as June, in consequence of my speeches in favor of the new constitution. But the real, though hidden design of all the arrests, was a deep laid scheme, (private malice occasionally coming in for its part,) on the part of the abolitionists, to enable them to carry the elections last November. They appeared to be impressed with a presentiment that their frequent outrageous and wanton violations of both federal and state constitutions, their repeated, constant, open and notorious trampling under foot of all the most sacred rights of the people, and every guarantee of their liberties; their daily bold and impudent assumptions of unlimited, imperial and despotic powers; their reckless, innumerable and enormous public plunderings; these the knowing ones found, had alarmed the people, and that they were in imminent danger of being defeated at the then approaching elections. Something, therefore, had now to be done. Their old stock was run down; their lies and slanders against the democrats had become stale; the patent "Union party" had played out; the public had got to understand the thing. Speaking from the halls of the American congress, the brave and noble Richardson had advertised the world, and especially the democracy of the nation, that the abolitionists were rallying their black and broken forces, and marshaling their dark and traitorous legions upon the political fields, under the stolen name of "Union party." They felt that this strategic movement would not succeed; their only hope, therefore, was by some bold, desperate and untried experiment, to disorganize the democracy a short time before the election, and then, before the political waters would have time to settle, the election would come off, and though their own party might be disintegrating, and even in a minority, yet, under such circumstances, they would form the controlling elements in the elections, and thus again secure position, place and power long enough to finish the work already commenced, of subverting our free government and fastening a miserable despotism upon the people.

In order to accomplish this, the freedom of the press and speech were suppressed, so far as related to speaking or publishing against official dishonesty and oppression. Democratic congressmen, judges, lawyers, editors, and democratic citizens of all ranks and conditions, who dared to utter a word of complaint against the infamous and treacherous acts of their country's oppressors, were threatened with arrest and incarceration in the bastilles erected by this abolition administration, and hundreds were arrested without charge, complaint, writ or process, and sent thousands of miles from home, not permitted to communicate with their friends at home, and in most cases never permitted to know why it was, or at whose suggestion they were arrested, or what they were charged with, thrown into loathsome prisons, their friends at home, in many instances not permitted to know where they were, while a set of poor hirelings at home were to be busy (and this, no doubt, was part of the plan) in manufacturing and circulating lies and dark insinuations to the effect that the parties arrested were to be detained during the war, or never to be released. This was to vex and torment the families and friends of the parties, as well as to alarm and depress the public mind. All this was to have its influence in disorganizing and terrifying the democratic party, the one grand object to be accomplished.

But as one of the Roman tyrants, who had undertaken to exterminate the christian religion from the earth, after he had murdered thousands of christians and seeing little or none of the effect desired, said to his advisers: "I think it of little use to kill individual christians, while their church remains, therefore let us first kill the church, and then we will have but little trouble with the individual christians." Now, the abolitionists, profiting by the wisdom of their great prototype, understood well enough that the arresting and incarcerating of individual democrats could never weaken the democracy to any considerable extent, for, like the primitive christians, those who remain behind only become more zealous in their labors, and more devoted to their cause, and as each christian martyr, when burned at the stake, was frequently the means of converting scores of unbelievers, so now it was perceived that each unconstitutional and tyrannical arrest served only to convert some honest, wavering mind to democracy. Therefore, to insure success in their undertaking, it became necessary, not only to harass, oppress, arrest and imprison the democrats, but to go one step farther, and break up their organization as a party, or, as

the Roman tyrant would have said, "kill the church"—kill the democratic church—kill the democratic organization, and then we will have but little trouble with the individual members thereof.

The distraction of the democratic party they knew could only be accomplished by attaching to it the odium of disloyalty or treason, not only to individual democrats, but to the organization. They knew that their lies and slanders, for the last eighteen months, daily and incessantly heaped upon the democracy, impugning their loyalty, had become stale and unheeded by the people, therefore something new, of necessity, must be resorted to now. Therefore, the wise heads were summoned together, the plan was adopted and submitted for approval, its principal elements being lying and perjury. The plan, briefly stated, was to hunt up and find unprincipled villains, (of which material the abolitionists always have an abundant stock on hand,) who would, for a small amount of "green backs," swear to any lie that might be deemed necessary. Said the leaders, "we will get up a story, pretending to be an *expose* of the Knights of the Golden Circle. We will connect it directly with the southern rebellion. We will include in it, first, all democrats who may have offended either us or those villains we hire to forge or swear for us. Second, we will include all democrats who are exposing our stealing and plundering to the people. *They are very disloyal and unsafe for us.* Third, all democrats who are using their influence to organize their party, for we abolitionists are all "no party" men now. We will have their lies sworn to, or pretend they have been, and that will answer our purpose just as well, (*provided we can keep the name from the public.*) We will also have them published in all our lying papers, and each one shall comment upon and give credit to these lies, however weak and shallow they may appear. And in the meantime, we will have all the democrats arrested against whom we get these lies fabricated. We will, also, make their friends and the whole country believe that they are already shot or hung, or will be upon a certain day; and, occasionally, we, (that is, the abolitionists,) will confiscate (that is, steal) something from their families when they are gone. And immediately after their arrests, and during the time the victims are in prison, the whole country is to be overrun by a swarm of pimps and spies, who, clothed with despotic power, unknown to our constitution and laws, and unheard of, except in the despotism of the old world, will swagger through the country, threatening to arrest and imprison all democrats who dare remember that they were once American freemen. And thus a universal terrorism was to pervade the entire country, such as our people had never felt or experienced, and this reign of terror was to have reached its zenith about the time the November elections would come off. But to put the finishing stroke upon the whole scheme, on the morning of the election, there shall be a secret emissary posted at every precinct within the state, to take and register, for a secret purpose, the name of every man who votes at this election. No man can tell the object of this. The emissary himself cannot tell you for what purpose it is done. All he knows is, that he is there by order of the governor. The assessors of each county in the state, under the directions of the law, have made and returned a complete roll of the militia within their respective counties. The election laws require the board of election, in each precinct, to make and preserve a poll list, containing the names of all the voters voting at their respective precincts. Yet here we find an additional roll to be furnished the governor, without authority of law, by his own secret spies, for his own secret purposes. We can readily imagine the effect such a procedure was expected to have upon a terror-stricken people; a people who had seen many of their friends and neighbors, equally innocent with themselves, arrested and thrown into prison, while they had seen the perpetrators of oppression, perjury and crime stalk abroad, with defiant impunity, and all this under the authority of what is called the government. Now, does not every man see and know that, had the terror and alarm existed which was intended to be produced by these tyrannical and revolutionary proceedings, that tens of thousands of democrats would have refused to vote under such circumstances.

But, again, it was confidently believed that thousands of democrats, seeing those lies published, would be deceived by them, and, becoming alarmed for fear there might be some truth in them, would either not vote at all, or vote with the abolitionists.

My friends, I have given you my candid opinion as to the real design and origin of the many unwarrantable and tyrannical arrests recently made under the orders of abolition despots; and here I will say, that was it not for one fact, I should be inclined to the opinion that the abolitionists, in this and other states, seized upon the order of the secretary of war as a cloak under which to carry out their wicked and cowardly plans, without the knowledge or approval of the president or his secretary; but, when I remember the fact that myself and many others thus arrested, were confined in the prisons at Washington and other places, though a trial was constantly demanded at the hands of the secretary of war, we remained there for months, and were not released until the result of the elections in New York, Illinois and other states were known, and then we were all immediately, by the order of the secretary of war, released without any trial, or even an examination

of any kind. This satisfies my mind, and must satisfy that of every candid man, that the power of the federal government at Washington was prostituted to aid in the execution of this political scheme.

Taking a comprehensive view of it, the scheme was profound. It was deep and black as the depths of hell. It was as base, cunning and treacherous as the subtleness of the devil. It was as cowardly and malignant as the work of the midnight assassin. It was conceived in, and prompted by, all the vile passions and wicked attributes of depraved and fallen man. And judging after the usual method of determining human probabilities, success would have seemed certain; but it failed. The details and practical parts were entrusted to bad hands. They played their parts badly. Their work was weak, shallow and awkwardly timed in every particular. The people had become alarmed for the safety of their government and their individual rights, and were in too serious a mood to be caught or deluded by such machinations. The plot exploded, and the whole thing recoiled upon the heads of its guilty projectors, and the abolitionists not only failed to disorganize and defeat the democracy, but, like Haman, their prototype, were hanged upon their own gibbet.

Now, let me ask the abolitionists and republicans one question. Do you not now think honesty is the best policy? I will say to you, by way of admonition, that just as certain as a majority of mankind are honest at heart, just that certain your party must go down, for as certain as a majority of the citizens of the country desire to see the constitution preserved and maintained, the laws vindicated and crime rebuked and punished, so certain they will condemn you as a party. You have placed too low an estimate upon the virtue, intelligence and patriotism of the people. You cannot, in this enlightened age, and in the very face of an intelligent and virtuous people, suborn corrupt and depraved witnesses to commit perjury against citizens whose innocence can be attested by thousands, arrest and ruthlessly drag those citizens from their families, immure them in prisons for months, discharge them without trial or examination, thereby admitting that there was no cause for their arrest, and when an incensed and indignant public demands the perpetrator of the foul perjury, then throw the protecting powers of the government around the villain, and shield him from the punishment due his crime.

I have thus hastily reviewed some of the facts and circumstances connected with my arrest. It is my own candid opinion that I was arrested, first, because it was a part of the plan that a great many democrats were to be slandered and arrested; second, I had, at an early day, as already stated, wounded the sensibilities, and offended the dignity of those who claim a special right to plunder and pocket the people's money. But at the time the arrest was made, the reason given was, that I had, in a public speech, exposed the frauds upon the government. The two subsequent documents, the Meyers affidavit, and that which I have here designated as the governor's, were both got up as an after thought. Both of these, as you see, charge me with belonging to the Knights of the Golden Circle. Both of these are utterly and wickedly false, so far as I am concerned, and I have no doubt they are as to every word and sentence in them, in relation to other parties. At the date of these lying statements, I had not been in Perry county since the 16th of June, the day before the election on the constitution, when I made a speech at Tamaroa; nor had I been nearer Blairsville than Carbondale or Desoto, since 1857; nor did I ever make a speech in my life but what was a public speech, addressed to persons of all political opinions, who would come and hear me; neither is there a truthful being upon earth who can say that I ever joined, or ever belonged, to the organization of K. G. C's., under that or any name whatever. I never joined them, nor did any man ever ask me to join them. I suppose they thought they could not improve me any; I was already as good a "knight" as they could make me. I am satisfied there is a political organization in the country under that name. I have heard men say they were members of the organization, and I have heard as honorable, high-minded, patriotic men as are upon earth, say so. Two men who were with me in the old capitol, one from Williamson, and the other from Franklin county, told me—told everybody—told the judge advocate at Washington, that they belonged to the K. G. C's. I know a great many men of whom it is said they belong to the organization, and they are the very best men in our country, and my opinion is that if the abolitionists had always been as clear of disloyalty and treason as the K. G. C's., our country would not now be bleeding from every pore. If I belonged to the order I would never deny it. I should think it no disgrace to me at all. I am satisfied there is not a disloyal sentiment pertaining to the organization. All that has ever been thought or said about the disloyalty of the organization, has been based upon just such damnable perjuries and forgeries as those which have been used to connect me with it. I am satisfied, beyond all doubt, that the only object of the organization is to restore the government back into honest men's hands, and to overthrow, by the ballot-box, the traitorous abolition oligarchy, which is stabbing at the vitals of our freedom; and that being the real and only object of the organization, as I am fully satisfied it is, I, therefore, bid them God speed, in their work; and if the good work was not already about accomplished, I should here give notice that I am a candidate

for initiation into the order. If I accomplish nothing else by joining, I may save some abolitionist the trouble (if it is any trouble to them to swear lies) of swearing a lie again, when it may become necessary to so charge me.

As this may be read by some persons who do not know my position upon the present unnatural condition of our once happy but now ruined country, I will here say, for their information, that I was one of that large class of citizens who believed at the beginning, and still believe, that the present internecine war, which is sickening the hearts of all christian nations, drenching a continent in fraternal blood, bathing the sorrow-stricken cheeks of millions of widows and orphans in tears, and converting the states into grave yards, was the deliberate choice of the abolitionists in preference to an honorable and peaceable adjustment, by which the Union could have been preserved, the war, with all its calamities, averted, and fraternal feelings (the only bond of Union) restored and cultivated. I believed, at the beginning, that the abolitionists did not comprehend the magnitude of the struggle, nor the depths and bitterness of the contest in which they were involving our country. I never believed, I never could believe, that the putting down of the rebellion, when once unitedly and earnestly engaged in, would be "but a breakfast spell." I solemnly, and from the depths of my heart, believed an issue was forming, a contest was opening up, that would be productive of bloodshed, death and destruction of property, with concomitant woe and ruin, such as the world had never yet witnessed. I could not help looking upon the evils of a broken brotherhood, in a great and powerful nation like ours, as too bitter and terrible to be endured, or for a moment to be contemplated, without being appalled. I preferred any honorable compromise, rather than the fearful experiment of a resort to arms.

I know, and the public knows, nor can the combined lies and misrepresentations of all the abolitionists, black republicans, and apostate democrats, upon the earth, snatch from the annals of the world that page of historic truth, which informs us that for three months during the gathering of the clouds of civil war, was the olive branch of peace continually held out to the abolitionists, but they preferred this war rather than have peace upon terms honorable to all, and dishonorable to none. They well knew that unless the demands of the south for further guarantees for the protection of their property were granted, the south would secede, and war would be the result. The abolitionists refused to grant these demands, not that they were detrimental to the government, unjust or dishonorable to any party or person, but they deliberately refused those demands, that war might follow as the consequence, and accordingly it did.

The blunders of the past we cannot recall, but they should serve as a warning for the future, and as I was in favor of preserving the Union and peace by honorable compromise, before the war commenced, I am now in favor of the preservation of the Union and the restoration of peace with the loss of as little blood and treasure as possible; and in this consists my *disloyalty*, in the eyes and minds of a certain class, who really care nothing for our Union, constitution or government, but whose *sine qua non*, in this war, is the freedom of the negro. This war had not progressed two months, until I found a direct issue between this class of people and myself. They very soon, in order to cover up their own hateful and negro-worshipping creed and Union-destroying policy, impudently assumed to themselves the sobriquet of "unconditional Union men." The issue between these and myself was this: I was for the white man—they were for the negro. I was for this war being conducted for the benefit of the white man, they for the black. No man, in their estimation, was "a good loyal Union man," unless the freedom of the negro was the paramount object with him, in the prosecution of the war. I believed then, and still believe, that the slaves in the seceded states should share precisely the same fate as other personal property; that if, by the laws of nations and the usages of war among civilized nations, the slaves were determined to be contraband of war, then, like all other contraband property, they should be converted to the use of the government, and not the government, as it now is, converted to their use. Yes, if the negroes are contraband of war, take them for the use of the government, make them do all the menial service, (not as hired men, but as slaves,) that white men might otherwise have to do, and then sell them to the highest bidder; and put the proceeds into the national treasury, where it belongs; that is what confiscation means; it means a forfeiture to the public treasury. But in place of this system, you see the negro simply liberated or emancipated, then hired, to the exclusion of white men, by the government, at wages from ten to thirty dollars per month, while the poor private soldier serves for thirteen dollars per month; not only so, but all, of every age, sex and condition, thus liberated, are turned over upon our government to maintain, feed, clothe, colonize and educate, and that, too, by a tax levied upon white people; and then call this "confiscation"! But it is not enough to liberate the negroes, and then feed, maintain, educate and colonize them at our expense, but our own constitution, yes, one of the most popular articles ever incorporated into a written constitution, is to be ruthlessly trampled down, penal statutes and criminal codes set at defiance, in order to make way for the importation of swarms of these degraded and suffering

beings among us, in all of which the one idea is constantly in view, the freedom and happiness of the negroes, without regard to the happiness, toil, blood and treasure it may cost the white race. I have never endorsed this policy, and, while God permits me to retain my senses, I never will, and for opposing this system of things, I have been, and am still, (behind my back, for no dastardly coward has dared to speak such things in my presence,) called "disloyal," "a southern sympathiser," "secessionist," &c., by that class whose Union is the negro, whose only test of loyalty is love for the negro, and a total indifference to the welfare of the white race; that class who are willing to see thousands of white men perish in order to set a few hundred negroes free. To such people as these, my notions and principles appear extremely *wild and disloyal*; and if such people were to call me loyal, I should fear that I had done something against my government. I do not want such persons to consider me loyal, for I should consider it a disgrace to me and my children for them to call me a loyal man, for it would be tantamount to saying I was for the negro in preference to the white man.

It is my deliberate opinion that the northern abolitionists are as disloyal to day to the federal constitution as the southern secessionists. Both are equally disloyal to the federal government; both are disunionists, with this difference: the southerners are a bold, brave and daring people, who, while they were attached to and acknowledged allegiance to the Union, were always ready and willing to contribute their last drop of blood and last cent of treasure for its preservation, but as soon as they became alienated from the Union and imbued with disunion sentiments, then they were equally ready to defend those heretical notions even unto death; while, upon the other hand, the abolitionists have entertained their disunion sentiments for years, and have, during all that time, been seeking the overthrow of the federal constitution and Union, but were a set of whining, phrenzied hypocrites, too cowardly to fight for their most cherished principles, their only known mode of warfare being lying, plundering and perjury.

From the beginning of our unfortunate troubles, I have said, let whatever means may be adopted or employed to preserve the Union, whether it be the force of arms or the spirit of concession and compromise, I want the federal constitution preserved as well as the Union. I want them both preserved together. A Union without the constitution would be of no value to freemen. I want to preserve with the Union the great charter of American liberty and human rights. It is not the earth alone of which our country territorially consists that has given us our enviable position and exalted rank among the great family of nations, but it is from our form and theory of government, and the only one upon earth which vouchsafes to fallen man his natural and inborn rights, and secures those rights by constitutional guarantees against the ever graspings and outstretchings of aggressive and despotic powers. But if all those great constitutional guarantees are to be disrespected, and the last bulwarks of American independence are to be broken down; in short, if the whole fabric of our free government is to be overturned and destroyed, and our brightest hopes and highest aspirations are all to be engulfed in one common ruin; if this is to be our fate, if this is to be the end of our government, with all her free and liberal institutions, it is wholly immaterial to you and I, it is wholly immaterial to posterity, it is wholly immaterial to the friends of freedom throughout the world, whether the despoiler of our country's liberties be called Jeff. Davis or Abraham Lincoln. Rather than see our entire government so destroyed, and king-craft and despotism set up their dark and dreadful court of oppression and despair upon our children and their descendants forever, I, for one, prefer the preservation of twenty-three states, or any other number that might be offered, as the only alternative. I think this would be wisdom. It is the lesson our Saviour taught us when he told the world that it was better for a man to enter Heaven maimed, (with an eye or an arm missing,) than have the whole body cast into hell. Yes, I am constrained to say that if the sad alternative was put to me to-day, to see all, all perish, or save even one single state, with her glorious American institutions, I would say, save even *one*, and would pray God that my own beloved Illinois might be the favored one. This may be *treason*, but if it is, Christ was then properly convicted and put to death as a traitor, for he taught us this practical wisdom in the affairs of the world, that it is better to save a part than to lose all. But you may desire to ask me if I think the sad alternative spoken of is now presented to the American people? I answer, I do not. I believe, with the proper councils prevailing at Washington, the whole country may possibly yet be saved. But I also believe, as firmly as I believe there is a God, that if the people of the free states had at the late elections endorsed the abolitionists in their work of overthrowing the American government, their bold and arrogant assumptions of imperial and unlimited powers, their open, reckless and notorious plunderings of the national treasury, in short, if the democracy had not been everywhere triumphant, I do believe that the awful and fearful spectacle would have been presented to the American people of witnessing the end of their own and last free government upon earth.

I have made these remarks because I sometimes hear men say that if they cannot see the whole Union preserved they prefer to see it all destroyed; that they prefer seeing every man, woman and child, and every dollar's worth of property, both north and south, perish, and leave the continent a waste, a howling wilderness, to be divided among the Indian tribes, rather than see only a part preserved; and I confess that when I hear such extravagant expressions, I am led to doubt such man's sanity or sincerity. But as a general thing, they are a class who have, so far, taken care, and always will take care, never to take any risks upon the battle-field. They are either your "patriotic" contractors or the holders of some of the thousands of petty offices at home, which have grown up in consequence of the war, and dependent for existence upon its continuance.

Permit me now, in conclusion, fellow citizens, to congratulate you upon your glorious success at the recent elections. This was Right, meek, silent, insulted, but constitutional Right, triumphing over insolent, constitution-breaking, freedom-hating Might. Let me congratulate you, fellow democrats, not only upon the success of our cause in every part of the country where elections have been held, but upon the increasing strength of our party. The democratic party has not been in so healthy a condition since 1862.

We have recently been tried as by fire. The purifying process through which we have just passed, has cleansed us of much useless matter and dead weight. The sunshine democrats, those who follow for the loaves and fishes; indeed the entire train of camp followers, deserted us, and took shelter from the fierce storm in the ranks of our enemies, while some of the best men in the ranks of the opposition party, have come over to us.

Fellow democrats, you have achieved a glorious victory, laboring, too, under the unjust and iniquitous gerrimandering of the abolitionists. We secured nine out of the fourteen congressmen, and a majority in each branch of the legislature, thus securing a democratic United States senator, while the treasury and educational departments of our state are both turned into the hands of trustworthy democrats again, by an overwhelming popular majority. This certainly is glory enough for one time; but much remains yet to be done. Let us never relax our energies until abolitionism shall be driven, by the voice of freemen, from every place of trust or profit, position or power. Let us rally in an unbroken phalanx, around our federal and state constitutions, until they are rescued from the usurping minions of a hateful despotism, now seeking their overthrow and destruction.

Fellow citizens, for contributing something in my humble way towards the accomplishment of so desirable an object, I was arrested and detained as a prisoner three months, from my home and family, sixty-eight days of which time, was spent in the Old Capitol, at Washington City. My treatment there was as good as I could have expected from the party who held me as their prisoner.

I also found good society there, for, besides an Allen, Mulkey, Clementson, Corder, Nelson, Bundy, Youngblood, and other true men, I also met, and made the acquaintance of, many other gentlemen, in that prison, from different states: some of them, too, among the noblest and best of earth; among whom, I must be permitted to mention, were Mahony and Sheward, of Iowa, Benedict, of New York, and Wilson, of Maryland, with many others; all there for the same offense, for pleading the cause of their oppressed and down-trodden country. It would be fortunate for our people, and fortunate for our country, if the president and his cabinet possessed the intellectual endowments, statesman-like qualifications, pure patriotism and devotion to their country, that might have been found among their prisoners in the Old Capitol.

But, fellow citizens, no system of oppression and tyranny shall ever deter me from discharging what I regard my duty to myself and my country. I shall, therefore, continue to expose the frauds and villainies of this corrupt abolition administration, and if they want to stop me, they must do one of two things—either take my life, or cease their corruptions and abuse of their power on the government.

Instead of regret, I feel a pride in the course I have hitherto pursued, in relation to the conduct of the present federal administration and when I die, I ask no prouder inscription upon my humble tomb than "Andrew D. Duff, one of the tyrants' prisoners in the 'Old Capitol,' during the great moral struggle between freedom and despotism, in 1862." I could ask no prouder legacy for my children.

Your Fellow-citizen,

ANDREW D. DUFF.

# ERRATA.

Page 3, third line from bottom, for "Beard," read "Board."

" 5, twenty-sixth line from top, for "prohibiting," read "protecting."

" 7, seventh line from top, for "eight," read "eighty."

" 8, twenty-third line from bottom, for "Morrison," read "Marion."

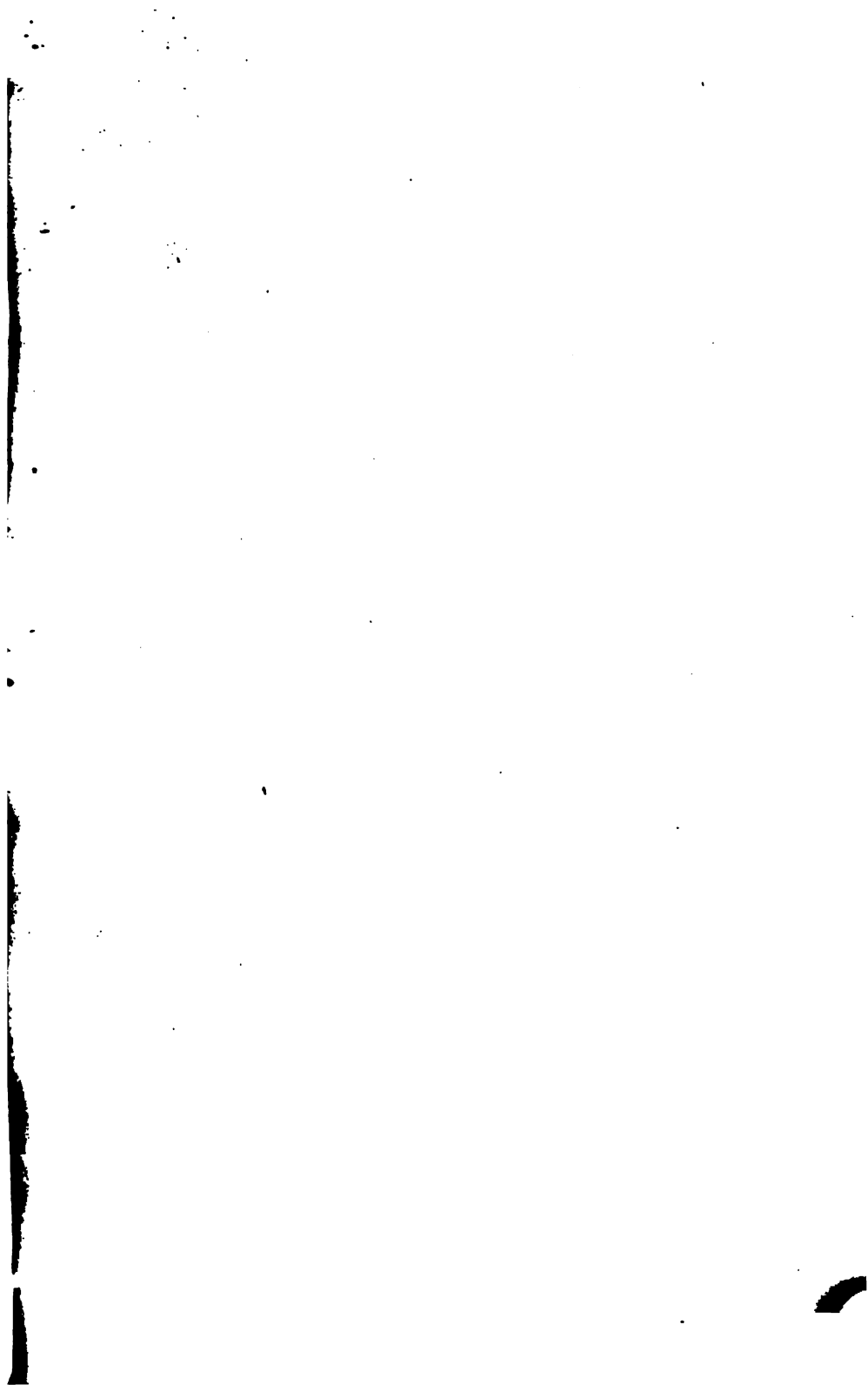
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